1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

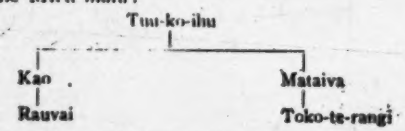
619 orongo had no districts of their own but were more or less scattered in the eastern part of the island from the north coast to the south coast. They had settlements everywhere in the interior, one as far as the vicinity of Vai-tea.

LINEAGE

● 613 The tribes included a number of lineages or subtribes. The natives of today fully agree that the ahus which extended along the coast, belonged to different "families" or lineages and that members of the lineage were buried there. The houses of the living members of the lineage were erected behind the ahus. Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 56), following Routledge's data, explains the origin of the lineages by a continuous process of segmentation: "They were smaller family units arising within the larger family unit, and again subdividing; and that process can be traced, not only in tradition, but in what appears to be comparatively recent times." Quoting what is probably a native definition reproduced by Routledge, he says, "The little clans were the children of the big ones."

My attention was drawn to such lineages by Victoria when she was trying to explain to me the position of the king in relation to his fellow members of the Miru *mata*. She stated that the king was always a representative of the Honga lineage which consisted of the direct descendants of the first king, Hotu-matua. According to Victoria, the other lineages of the Miru were the Ure-o-kao, the Ure-o-koera, the Toko-te-rangi, and the Te Kena. Some lineages were more closely related to each other than to the others of the same tribe. Thus, the Honga and the Te Kena claimed descent from two brothers of that name, sons of Tuu-ma-heke, the heir of Hotu-matua. Among the Miru, the Honga men were not allowed to marry Ure-o-koera and Toko-te-rangi women. They took their wives either from the Ure-o-kao or from the Te Kena. On the other hand, the Te Kena were *tumu* of the Ure-o-kao and intermarried with them.

Actually the lineages or subgroups of the Miru were far more numerous than has been recorded. They were: (1) Ongo (Honga), (2) Mataiva, (3) Rauvai, (4) Kao, (5) Toko-te-rangi, (6) Maari, (7) Ko-era, (8) Hahai, (9) Matapu, (10) Moa-tahu, (11) Kai-huharu, (12) Ure-te-Niu, (13) Tuu-ko-ihu. In that list the Te Kena are missing and the Ure-o-kao appear under the form of Kao. Nevertheless we find the Te Kena in the genealogies of the founders of the lineage. The following genealogy shows the origin of several lineages of the Miru *mata*:

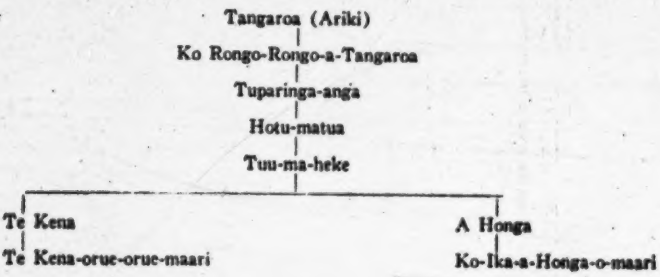


Tuu-ko-ihu was a powerful *ariki* who came to the island with Hotu-matua and to whom most of the sacred rituals are attributed. The other names in the genealogy are

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

those of lineages; there is no doubt that in the minds of the natives they referred to heads of the lineages. 613

The genealogy of the Honga lineage goes back, as do kingly genealogies in other parts of Polynesia, to Tangaroa and to Rongo created by Tangaroa (Rongo-Rongo-a-Tangaroa). It does not contradict the genealogy given by Victoria who insisted that the Te Kena and the Honga were sons of Tuu-ma-heke. Tuu-ma-heke was the first-born son of Hotu-matua and consequently the direct descendant of Tangaroa and Rongo.



Geographical Distribution of Lineages

I could obtain no information regarding the location of the various lineages within the Miru district. I was told that the Honga lived at Anakena and the Te Kena at Ovahe and that the boundary between them passed through the hill which lies between the two bays. Probably the respective location of the lineages corresponds to that of the different ahus. The Ahu-anakoiroroa in Anakena belonged, according to tradition, half to Te Kena and half to Honga. Routledge apparently received considerable information on the distribution of lineages which she communicated to Williamson. Though his documents are not entirely reliable and are vitiated by omissions and contradictions, I reproduce them here in the form in which Williamson understood them:

> The sub-group at Vai-toa was Maari, and somewhere between Vai-toa and Anakena there was an Ongo-Kao mixture. In the neighbourhood of Anakena there was an Ongo-Kao mixture. In the neighbourhood of Anakena she [Routledge] shows an Ongo-Kao-Niu mixture, followed (further west) by a Kao-Niu mixture; but these two seem to be struck off. Then follows (further west) an Ongo- area, this last being apparently somewhat extensive. Next after this comes a Rauwai-Tokoterangi mixture, followed by a Rauwai group. We have now reached Ahu Tepeau, where there was a Mataiva-Kao mixture; and after this followed in succession, groups first of Mataiva, then of Tokoterangi, next of Koera, and finally, of Hahai. At this point the information stops.
>
> It will be noticed that the names of four of her sub-groups—Matapu, Moa-tahu, Kae-huharu, and Tuukoihu do not appear in these particulars; it may be that their habitats were all in the extreme southern part of the Miru group on the western shore, or perhaps the explanation is that the particulars are not complete, there being places on the coast line of the district whose habitants Mrs. Routledge has not been able to identify. The particulars do not appear to disclose a mere haphazard intermixture of sub-groups. The Maari seem to have been confined to their own district; then there has apparently been a length of coast occupied by the Ongo, Kao, and Niu (mixed or separate); then we come to the Rauwai, Mataiva, and Toko-te-rangi (mixed or separate);

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

and finally to two unmixed sub-groups, the Koera and Hahai. I do not know what was the character of the mixing in these cases, but very possibly the bulk of it arose through intermarriages, in which case the fact of the mixings of sub-groups would not necessarily be antagonistic to suggestions that their grouping was in the main social and local coincidently.

VILLAGES

Remains of villages or houses are scattered along almost the entire coast. Few evidences of former occupation are found in the interior; only on the slope of Rano-raraku are there ruins of some villages. It is difficult to determine whether all the points along the coast were ever simultaneously occupied. We may assume that stony, inhospitable areas which bear traces of ancient settlements were inhabited after more favorable regions were entirely settled. Some villages were situated at the head of bays or near small creeks where canoes could be landed and where men and women could fish on the coast. Other villages, such as Vai-mata, Puna-marengo, Ahu-te-peu, were perched high upon cliffs. Large settlements were never far from fresh water. Ahu-te-peu is only a mile from a pool and Vai-mata has brackish water. The ruins of Puna-marengo can be explained only by the fresh-water spring there. Vai-tara-kai-ua was an important settlement, because it had one of the best wells on the island.

Stone foundations which are still found on the sites of ancient villages must not be taken as a basis for evaluating the density of the ancient population. Many ancient huts did not have stone curbs; and not all of the preserved house foundations were contemporary. It seems best to resort to earlier accounts to estimate the extent of ancient aggregation.

Roggeveen (186, p. 19), who landed on the north coast, saw only six or seven long huts at that place, and inferred "that all the Indians make use of their possessions in common, for the large size and small number of their dwellings give one to know that many live together and sleep in a single building." Gonzalez' men (90, p. 102) assumed that most inhabitants lived in caves.

G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 569), standing on a hill near Hangaroa, "did not see above ten or twelve huts, though the view commanded a great part of the island." J. R. Forster and Cook mention houses on the south coast, about 3 miles from Vinapu (53, vol. 1, p. 282). De Langle, officer of the La Pérouse expedition, who made an excursion toward the interior of the island, describes briefly a little village near Vaihu, where he saw one long house and the foundations of several huts. (130, vol. 1, pp. 79-80).

The large scale map of Hanga-roa Bay in La Pérouse's Atlas (130) shows the distribution of the population on the coast. Near the present pier were a hut and an ahu. About 200 yards away stood three more huts and two stone houses. On the border of the actual village, the map indicates huts and caves; and a big house with stone foundations occupied the present site of

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

576 chief of Hotu-iti. Men had been posted at distances along the way followed by the missionaries. All had badges on their heads or on their arms. Each group received the guests with cheers and joined the retinue, marching behind the missionaries. Among this escort were two men who walked in front bearing two European swords. When they arrived where the chief was standing, the guests were received with the formula *Ka oho mai korua* (You come) and invited to sit on beautiful stones. A stone seat was given to the young king who had accompanied the missionaries.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

423 All information about property rights of ancient times is summarized in a few passages by Roussel (190, p. 429):

> In more recent times, property has been less respected; the land belonging to the first occupant. Formerly, every family owned the land that either hereditary, compulsory, or voluntary occupation put into its hands. Property was not valued because of the great expanse of uncultivated lands and the absence of purchasers. The dishonesty of the natives, their continual changing of residence, resulting from their constant wars, have created the most confusing and entangled situation in matter of property. So if you intend to buy land, you have—I do not want to say always, because there are exceptions—to buy the lands from all the individuals on the place in order not to cheat somebody. If you add to this entanglement the difficulty arising from the orphans who are very numerous, you will have an idea of the property system on Rapa-nui. [As on other Polynesian islands] the sea contiguous to an estate belonged to the owner of this estate. He was the only one who was authorized to fish, to look for squid and shellfish there. For his protection he placed a *rahui*.

[736]

[613] I could get scant information about ancient property rights. The ground belonging to a lineage was called *henua poreko ranga* (the land where the ancestors were born). Since 1866, when the entire population was concentrated at Hanga-roa on the west coast, the ties between lineages and land have been broken. Dutroux-Bornier, by unscrupulous tricks, bought from the natives most of their lands; through Brander, his rights passed to the Williamson-Balfour Company which now owns the island. I believe that the natives yielded their lands more readily because they had left them. However, they have remembered the portions of land of which their families were the legitimate owners. Estella (79, pp. 122-126) has reproduced a letter of the so-called king Atamu Te Kena, wherein the king gives the exact boundaries of his estate at Hanga-piko. In the same document are listed the names of forty persons who were the owners of Hanga-piko, Mataveri, and Rano-kao. As an example of the accuracy with which old boundaries were traced, I translate a part of Estella's document which was destroyed later with the archives, in a fire ignited by the natives themselves:

> . . . The line goes from Hanga-piko to the stone Taiaa, from there passing through the middle of the said stone it extends to the stone Mataoti where there is a house. From the middle of this house the boundary reaches the mountain of the Mata, where

li Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

there is another house. . . The other line goes from the pool to the big stone, Huha-turupei. I tell you this clearly so that you may know the boundary; this is the stone. From there, looking to the east, it runs to the right to the point, Iarako. 423

With the intention of harming the English Company, Estella (79, pp. 114-119) tried to establish the property rights of the natives according to their claims. At the meetings arranged for that purpose, each native gave the boundaries of the land which would have been his under the old property-right system. If purported rights were to be recognized, all of the east part of the island called Hotu-iti would belong to the family of Tepano. When I asked about the property of his family, he mentioned no such rights and even boasted that he fooled Estella. However inaccurate it may be, Estella's census attempt shows that the districts of the island were once divided into fairly large portions which belonged to lineages, and that the hereditary land of a lineage was divided among households. Victoria Rapahango and Maria Ika who are of the Honga family are at present the theoretical owners of the land around the eastern part of Anakena Cove. Their land includes the ahu of Hotu-matua and the near-by hill. The ahu near the cave at Anakena Cove was the property of Simon Rirorokо and Charli Teao. The statue, called Rahi, of ahu Tongariki marked the boundary between the lineage of the Vaimaho and that of the Vaikoveka. 423 613

Brothers lived together in the same house and to each was allotted a portion of the land when he married. All the people were supposed to have about the same amount of land to cultivate. Each estate was probably a straight strip of land (*kainga*) which stretched away from the shore toward the interior of the land. Shares owned by the different families were subject to changes from one generation to the next, depending upon the deaths and resultant inheritances. After the kidnapping of the Easter Islanders in 1862, the lands left vacant were claimed by the relatives of those abducted, and thus many quarrels arose among the contenders. 423

As in the rest of Polynesia, Easter Island children inherited from both their father and their mother. Many of the people who presented their claims to Estella founded their pretensions on the rights of mothers and even of aunts (probably father's sisters). Tepano's mother was married first to an *ariki* named Vaka. She bore him ten children and afterwards married Rano Vavara, Tepano's father. When Vaka died he left some land to her and her children. Tepano, as the only survivor of all of Viriamo's children, might claim as his own both Vaka's and his father's land. Only Charli Teao, who was a relative of Vaka, could demand some share of the latter's estate. In answer to my question as to the disposal of his estate after his death, Tepano told me that it would go to his wife and afterward to "his favorite son." 428

At present the Chilean government gives ten hectares (25 acres) of land to each man when he marries. 425

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

up to the parents, though Jorge mentioned that other relatives might be consulted at this time. However, such consultation cannot be long extended, for consent — or rejection — is given very shortly. If accepted, the father of the boy immediately pours some drinks and both families and their relatives are sent for and a party is given that very day.

MARRIAGE

When a couple is about to marry, the father of the bridegroom designates one of his brothers to collect presents from the family. Those who are supposed to give at this time are the father's brothers and sisters, cousins, *compadres*, and certain individuals related by marriage.[3] Of considerable interest is the fact that the male members of the father's *tumu*, or — to use the islander's present Spanish term — *aliados*, must give presents at this time.[4] Although the *tumu* no longer operates to the extent that marriage must be within the *tumu*, though such is looked upon with high favor, its continued existence is clearly recognized in that not only do its members give marriage gift-exchange presents to any one of their members whose son or daughter is being married, but they are automatically invited to any feasts given by any member of the *tumu*.

The gifts collected at this time, which may consist of foodstuffs, cows, pigs, cloth, or money, are turned over to the bridegroom's father who then invites the bride's father and her extended family to a feast, and they come bringing guitars for singing and dancing. After the feast the bridegroom's father presents to the bride's father the accumulated gifts his brother has collected. At such a time the gifts may often be spread out in the form of a boat.

Some time after the bride's father has received his gifts, one of his brothers or sisters is designated to collect gifts from the bride's family which are then turned over to the bride's father. It is now his turn to invite the bridegroom's father and extended family to his home for a feast, after which the collected gifts are presented to the bridegroom's father. In all of this, the engaged couple receive nothing, for, as Jorge pointed out, when they get married they will have each other and that is sufficient.

Although common law marriages unaccompanied by ceremony still exist, the

3 I was unable to determine precisely which relatives by marriage must present gifts, in that I found out too late that Easter Islanders use the Spanish word *cuñado*, or brother-in-law, loosely to include husbands of cousins and even nieces, not all of whom are required to give presents.

4 A *tumu* is a group of lineages into which, in former times, a man might marry. The *tumu* to which the Tepano family belongs, for example, consists of the Tepano, Pakomio, and Paoa lineages.